EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

ROUTING SLIP

TO:

		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
1	DCI		X		
2	DDCI		X		
3	EXDIR		X		
4	D/ICS				
5	DDI		X		
6	DDA				
7	DDO				
8	DDS&T				
9	Chm/NIC				
10	GC				
11	IG				
12	Compt				
13	D/Pers				
14	D/OLL		X		
15	D/PAO				
16	SA/IA				
17	AO/DCI				
18	C/IPD/OIS				
19	NIO/SP		X		
20	VC/NIC		X		
21	NIO/USSR		X		
22	C/ACIS		X		
	SUSPENSE				

Date

Remarks

STAT

Executive Secretary

8 Apr 85

Date

3637 (10-81)

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 3, 1985

The Honorable Caspar Weinberger
Secretary of Defense
Department of Defense
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear Cap:

Thank you for your most recent set of U.S.-Soviet armaments charts. I appreciate them very much, and I look forward to the additional charts and their conversion to large briefing boards. I also hope that you will reconsider my request that all of these charts be aggregated together with some explanatory text into a 1985 Supplement to Soviet Military Power. We urgently need this Supplement for our forthcoming defense debates.

You are well aware of my interest in estimates of Soviet ICBM warheads. I thank you for the recent DIA briefing to me on this subject.

Your recent 1985 Edition of Soviet Military Power contains an interesting statement on this point. On the first page of your signed Preface you state:

> "The level of deployed MIRVed ICBM warheads continues to rise with overall modernization of the Soviet strategic missile force." (Emphasis added, enclosed.)

But on page 30, the U.S.-Soviet ICBM warhead chart (enclosed) shows a flat leveling off of the line in 1985. Last year's chart showed a rising line to 6,300, but this year's line is actually flat. This is puzzling, because the SS-25 is being deployed right now, and the SS-24 is also being deployed right now (see p. 41). Thus not only is there a flat contradiction of your own statement in the Preface, but there is also an internal contradiction between page 30 and page 41. (Enclosed.)

A senior Defense Department Intelligence briefer was quoted in today's Washington Times as stating that no matter which forum he might be in, he would state firmly that the Soviets had precisely 6,300 ICBM warheads. But this statement flatly contradicts your

recent letter to me revealing that there is a "range of uncertainty" on the number of Soviet ICBM warheads. A member of the press has told my staff that an unidentified Defense Intelligence Officer at the recent briefing commented that it was a mistake for Soviet Military Power to state that there were precisely 6,300 Soviet ICBM warheads. He said that DOD should have stated that there was a "range of uncertainty" above 6,300 Soviet ICBM warheads of "about 2,000."

I agree. How do you explain these internal contradictions on the most important measure of military power in the world today?

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Jim McClure

James A. McClure
United States Senator

SOVIET MILITARY POWER

1985

PREFACE

A valuable starting point from which to measure the current and projected strength, trends, and global military capabilities of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, as well as the forces of its Warsaw Pact allies, is the following assessment presented in the introduction to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's 1984 official publication, *NATO and the Warsaw Pact—Force Comparisons:*

> The Warsaw Pact maintains large-scale strategic nuclear forces, intermediate- and short-range nuclear forces, and massive conventional forces. Moreover, Warsaw Pact military strategy as shown by its literature and military exercises calls for large-scale penetration into enemy territory in order to secure strategic objectives; it continues to emphasize the element of surprise and the necessity of rapid offensive operations.

The forces of the USSR and its allies continue to expand, modernize, and deploy with increasingly capable weapons systems designed for the entire spectrum of strategic, theater-nuclear, and conventional conflict. The Soviet Union has made no secret of certain of these advances. For example, in the autumn of 1984, the Soviet Defense Ministry announced that the USSR was beginning to deploy a new generation of nuclear-armed, air-launched and sea-launched cruise missiles. The Soviets also revealed that nuclear-armed, short-range ballistic missiles had been forward-deployed from the USSR to operational sites in Eastern Europe and that additional ballistic missile submarines were on patrol in the Atlantic and the Pacific. In a speech before the Politburo, General Secretary Chernenko said that further actions would be taken to strengthen the Soviet Union's military capability. These announcements serve notice of the increasingly ambitious Soviet procurement and deployment of major categories of new armaments. The success that the Soviets have achieved in both quantity and quality of systems is based on combining an aggressive R&D program with a systematic effort to target and obtain advanced Western technologies.

Some of the more significant developments reported in this, the fourth edition of *Soviet Military Power*, are:

- Test firings continue for the SS-X-24 and SS-X-25 ICBMs, the new, fifth-generation intercontinental ballistic missiles. The SS-X-25 violates Soviet obligations under SALT II. The level of deployed MIRVed ICBM warheads continues to rise with overall modernization of the Soviet strategic missile force.
- Two units of a new DELTA IV-Class of strategic ballistic missile submarine have been launched; they are the likely platform for the USSR's newest, most accurate submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM), the SS-NX-23.
- A third 25,000-ton TYPHOON-Class strategic ballistic missile submarine has completed sea trials, joining the two TYPHOON units already operational, each fitted with 20 SS-N-20 SLBMs, with each missile capable of delivering six to nine MIRVed warheads to ranges of 8,300 kilometers.
- The new supersonic, swing-wing BLACKJACK bomber continues in advanced test and development. New strategic BACKFIRE bombers continue to join

in the United States. Each of its 10 warheads has more than 20 times the destructive power of the nuclear devices developed during World War II. The SS-18 Mod 4 force currently deployed has the capability to destroy more than 80 percent of US ICBM silos using two nuclear warheads against each. The SS-19 Mod 3 ICBM could be assigned similar missions and, in addition, could be used against targets in Eurasia. Although the SS-17 Mod 3 is somewhat less capable than the SS-19, it has similar targeting flexibility.

The remaining 580 Soviet ICBM silos are fitted with the SS-11—420 SS-11 Mod 2/3s, 100 SS-11 Mod 1s—and 60 SS-13 Mod 2s. These ICBMs of older vintage—1966 and 1973 initial deployment, respectively—are housed in less-survivable silos and are considerably less capable. Nevertheless, their destructive potential against softer area targets in the United States and Eurasia is significant in terms of many of the Soviet nuclear requirements outlined above.

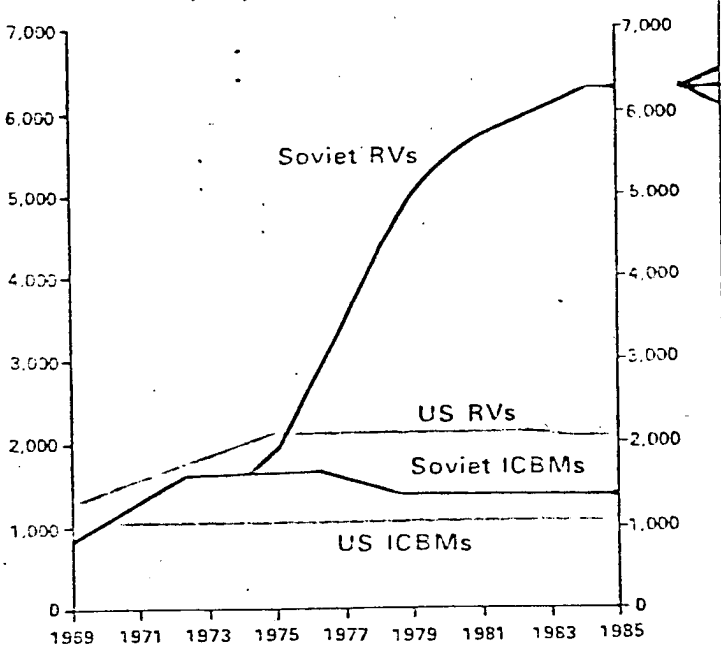
The SS-16 is a three-stage, solid-propellant, single-RV ICBM that the Soviets claim has not been deployed. The system was first tested in 1972; the last known test took place in 1976. The SS-20 LRINF missile is closely related to the SS-16. The SS-16 probably was intended originally for both silo and mobile deployment, using equipment and a basing arrangement comparable to that used with the SS-20. The Soviet Union agreed in SALT II not to produce, test, or deploy ICBMs of the SS-16 type and, in particular, not to produce the SS-16 third stage, the RV, or the appropriate device for targeting the RV of that missile. While the evidence is somewhat ambiguous, it indicates that the SS-16 activities at Plesetsk are a probable violation of SALT II, which banned SS-16 deployment.

Deployment programs for all of the currently operational Soviet ICBM systems are complete. The command, control, and communications system that supports the Soviet ICBM force is modern and highly survivable, and the reliability of the ICBMs themselves is regularly tested by live firings from operational complexes.

Those ICBMs in the current force that the Soviets decide not to replace with modified or new ICBMs will, in accord with past practice, be refurbished to increase their useful lifetime. During this process, some system modifications could also be made. Through this capacity for refurbishment, the Soviets can sustain a higher level of confidence in system reliability over a longer term than would otherwise be possible.

Force Developments. Soviet research and development on ICBMs is a dynamic process involving many programs. The completion of current deployment programs probably marks

US and Soviet ICBM Launcher and Reentry Vehicle (RV) Deployment 1969–1985



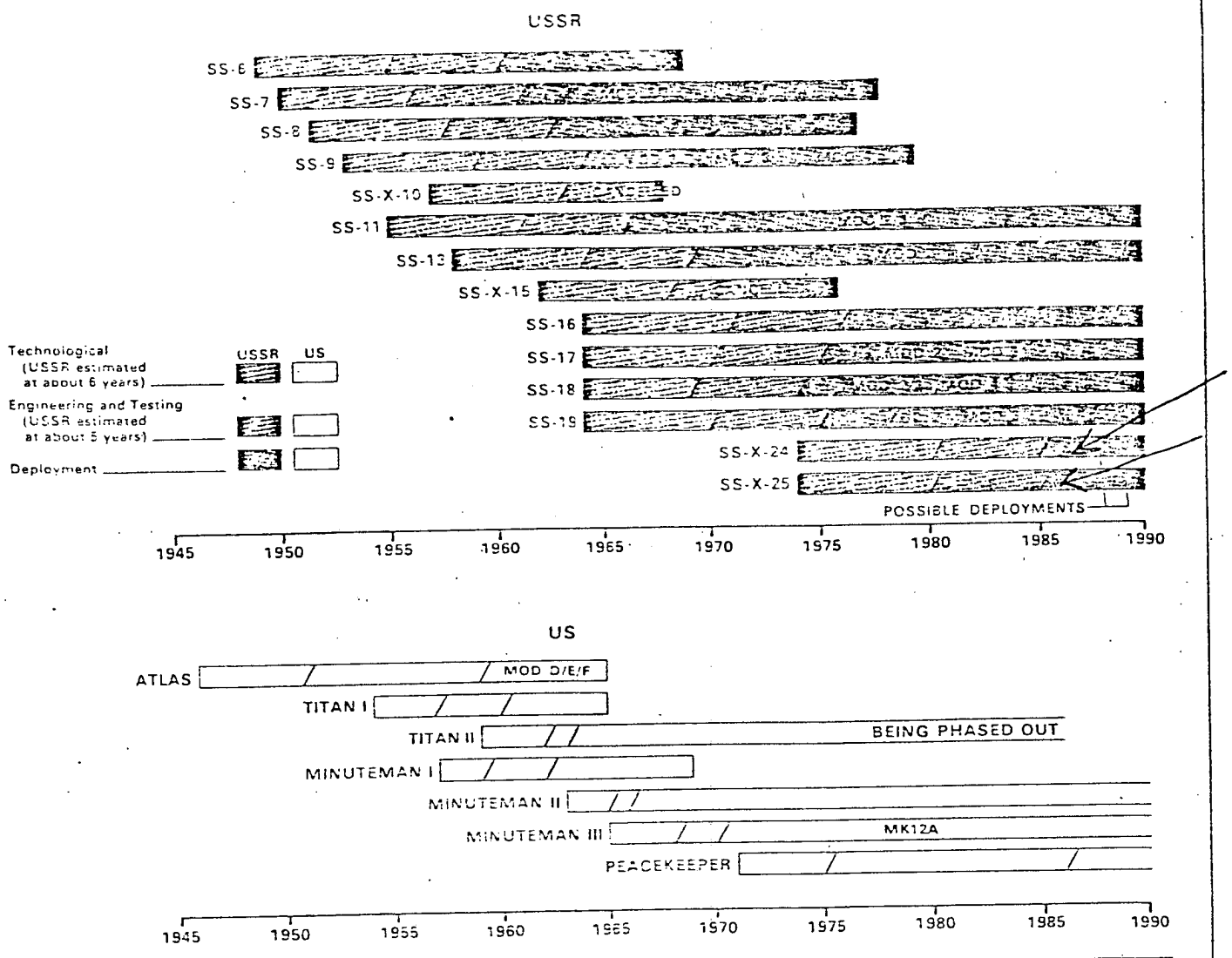
the end of significant Soviet investment in the development of entirely new liquid-propellant ICBMs. Modified versions of the SS-18, however, are likely to be produced and deployed in existing silos in the future.

The Soviets appear to be planning on new solid-propellant ICBMs to meet future mission requirements, including a counterforce capability and ICBM force survivability. Two new solid-propellant ICBMs, the medium-size SS-X-24 and the smaller SS-X-25, are well along in their flight test programs from the range head at Plesetsk in the Soviet north. A mobile version of each of these systems will be deployed.

The SS-X-24 will probably be silo-deployed at first, with initial deployment expected in 1986. Rail-mobile deployment could follow by one to two years. Early preparations for the deployment of the SS-X-24 are already underway.

The SS-X-25 is approximately the same size as the US MINUTEMAN ICBM. It will carry a single reentry vehicle. The SS-X-25 has apparently been designed for road-mobile deploy-

Intercontinental Ballistic Missile Force Development



addition to the training of personnel in missile maintenance and operations, the Soviets trained missile crews to meet the demands of modern nuclear warfare. As more technically sophisticated computers and automated control systems were introduced and missile systems attained higher degrees of readiness, crew sizes were reduced. The demands placed upon crew readiness, however, increased to the point where most or all ICBM and LRINF missiles could be launched in minutes. The Soviets insist that SRF personnel be combat ready at all times. As a result, Soviet missile crews are regularly trained for the contingencies of preemption, launch-on-tactical-warning, or a second-strike attack. An additional part of crew training is reconstitution and refire of those silos not destroyed in a counterattack. In keeping with the demands of Soviet nuclear doctrine, missile crews are trained to perform their tasks under any contingency.